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Message Text

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OES/APT/SEP:WDECLERCQ (SUBS)
COMMERCE:SBILINSKI
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y - REENTRY DUE OMISSION CLEARANCE
OFFICES

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, YO, US J

SUBJECT: ANNUAL POLICY ASSESSMENT FOR YUGOSLAVIA

REF: BELGRADE 1422
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1. EMBASSY BELGRADE'S ANNUAL POLICY ASSESSMENT FOR YUGO-
SLAVIA WAS REVIEWED BY AN INTERAGENCY GROUP JULY 3. THE
CONSENSUS WAS THAT THE EMBASSY'S ASSESSMENT WAS COMPRE-
HENSIVE AND GENERALLY SOUND. COMMENTS ON GENERAL US POLICY

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OBJECTIVES, US-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS, REPORTING PRIORITIES
AND PROPOSED COURSES OF ACTION IN THE COMING MONTHS FOLLOW.

2. US POLICY OBJECTIVES AND OVERALL RELATIONS:

A. THE REVIEW GROUP AGREED THAT OUR GEO-STRATEGIC INTEREST IN YUGOSLAVIA'S INDEPENDENCE, UNITY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND ECONOMIC STABILITY REMAINS UNCHANGED. YUGOSLAVIA'S INDEPENDENCE AND NON-ALIGNED POSITION IN EUROPE ARE IMPORTANT FACTORS FOR STABILITY AND PEACE IN EUROPE AND THE MEDITERRANEAN. IF THE USSR WERE TO ESTABLISH HEGEMONY OVER YUGOSLAVIA, THIS WOULD GIVE THE SOVIETS ACCESS TO THE ADRIATIC, BRING SOVIET POWER UP TO THE ITALIAN BORDER, PUT PRESSURE ON GREECE AND ALBANIA, AND OUTFLANK ROMANIA. MOREOVER, INTERNAL UNCERTAINTIES IN GREECE AND

PORTUGAL AND GREEK-TURKISH TENSIONS OVER CYPRUS WERE SEEN AS HEIGHTENING THE IMPORTANCE TO THE US OF YUGOSLAVIA'S CONTINUED INDEPENDENCE.

B. THE PARTICIPANTS AGREED THAT US POLICY SHOULD BE DIRECTED AT STRENGTHENING YUGOSLAVIA'S WILL AND ABILITY TO REMAIN INDEPENDENT AND MAXIMIZING US LEVERAGE IN POST-TITO YUGOSLAVIA. SEVERAL MEMBERS FELT STRONGLY THAT STATEMENTS SUCH AS "US POLICY SHOULD BE DIRECTED TO STRENGTHENING YUGOSLAVIA TODAY..." WERE TOO SWEEPING AND SHOULD BE ESCHEWED IN FAVOR OF MORE PRECISE FORMULATIONS. (IT IS NOT, FOR EXAMPLE, US POLICY TO STRENGTHEN YUGOLAVIA'S ROLE AS A LEADER AMONG THE NON-ALIGNED, EVEN THOUGH THE YUGOSLAVS SEEM TO BE AMONG THE MODERATES IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT.)

C. THE ASSESSMENT'S OBLIQUE REFERENCE (SENTENCE 1, PARAGRAPH 9) TO STRAINS IN US-YUGOSLAV POLITICAL RELATIONS RESULTING FROM SHARP YUGOSLAV CRITICISM OF US POLICIES ON SUCH ISSUES AS CHILE, VIET-NAM, THE PANAMA CANAL, PUERTO RICO AND KOREAN UNIFICATION WERE CONSIDERED SOMEWHAT
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FLIPPANT. WE EXPECT YUGOSLAV LEADERS TO BE COGNIZANT OF OUR INTERESTS AND INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES AND TO REALIZE THAT BILATERAL RELATIONS CANNOT BE INSULATED FROM THEIR STATEMENTS AND ACTIONS ON WORLD ISSUES. WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO LET THE YUGOSLAVS KNOW THAT GRATUITOUS CRITICISMS OF US POSITIONS ON ISSUES WHERE OUR VITAL INTERESTS ARE AT STAKE AND THEIR INTERESTS APPEAR MARGINAL AT BEST (E.G. PUERTO RICO, PANAMA CANAL, KOREA) WILL HAVE A NEGATIVE EFFECT ON THE QUALITY OF OUR RELATIONS. THEY SHOULD BE REMINDED THAT SUCH CRITICISMS AFFECT THE ATTITUDES OF OUR LEADERS TOWARD YUGOSLAVIA.

D. THE GROUP ALSO FELT THAT THE EMBASSY'S STATEMENT THAT "WHILE TITO REMAINSOUR BILATERALS WILL BE ON A GEN-

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ERALLY EVEN KEEL WITH BASIC US POLICY OBJECTIVES FUL-
FILLED" REQUIRED SOME MODIFICATION. WHILE THE GROUP
AGREED THAT TITO'S COMMIT?ENT TO THE PRESERVATION OF YU-
GOSLAVIA'S INDEPENDENCE, UNITY AND VIABILITY WORKS TO
FULFILL BASIC US INTERESTS IN YUGOSLAVIA, IT WAS NOTED THAT
TITO'S OCCASIONAL HIP-SHOOTING TENDENCIES (VIZ. HIS STATE-
MENTS ON THE CIA AND CYPRUS AND ALLENDE'S DEMISE) HAVE
SOMETIMES PRODUCED FAIRLY SHARP JOLTS IN US-YUGOSLAV
RELATIONS. SOME MEMBERS OF THE GROUP ALSO POINTED OUT
THAT IT IS POSSIBLE THAT TITO'S SUCCESSORS MIGHT WELL BE
MORE SUSPICIOUS OF THE SOVIETS AND MORE WESTWARD LOOKING
THAN TITO, "THE OLD REVOLUTIONARY", IS.

E. THE GROUP FELT IT WAS INAPPROPRIATE FOR THE
EMBASSY TO USE THE ADJECTIVE "SOCIALIST" TO MODIFY
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YUGOSLAVIA IN THE PHRASE "...AND MAINTAIN A SOCIALIST
YUGOSLAVIA DEMONSTRABLY FREE OF SOVIET HEGEMONY." THE
GROUP REALIZED THAT UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES THERE IS
NO ALTERNATIVE TO A "SOCIALIST" YUGOSLAVIA. MOREOVER, OUR
RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA ARE BASED SINCERELY ON THE PRIN-
CIPLE OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY IRRESPECTIVE OF POLITICAL,
SOCIAL OR ECONOMIC SYSTEM. THERE IS AN IMPORTANT DISTINC-
TION, HOWEVER, BETWEEN OUR INTEREST IN MAINTAINING A
"YUGOSLAVIA DEMONSTRABLY FREE OF SOVIET HEGEMONY" AND
MAINTAINING A "SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA" FREE OF THE SAME.

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3. US ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN YUGOSLAVIA:

ALTHOUGH THE EMBASSY'S ASSESSMENT DOES NOT DISCUSS US
ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN YUGOSLAVIA, WE CONCUR WITH THE
COUNTRY COMMERCIAL PROGRAM STATEMENT THAT A VIABLE AND EX-
PANDING ECONOMY IS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN MAINTAINING
YUGOSLAVIA'S POSTURE OF INDEPENDENT NON-ALIGNMENT. US
COOPERATION IN YUGOSLAV ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT THROUGH
EXISTING INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND EFFORTS TO
STRENGTHEN BILATERAL ECONOMIC TIES ARE MEANS OF SUPPORTING
A HEALTHY YUGOSLAV ECONOMY. EXPANDING RELATIONS HAVE BEEN
BENEFICIAL TO OUR BUSINESS INTERESTS AS WELL AS TO OUR
GENERAL POLITICAL INTERESTS IN YUGOSLAVIA. IN THE SHORT
TERM, YUGOSLAV PROBLEMS IN BOTH THE DOMESTIC AND INTER-
NATIONAL AREAS HAVE LED THEM TO CONCLUDE THAT A RATHER
VIGOROUS PROGRAM OF EXPORT EXPANSION AND TEMPORARY IMPORT
LIMITATIONS IS NECESSARY. THIS WILL REQUIRE CONTINUING
SUBSTANTIAL TRADE PROMOTION EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN A GROWING
MARKET FOR US EXPORTS IN YUGOSLAVIA AND CONTINUED FREE AC-
CESS OF YUGOSLAV EXPORTS TO THE US.
4. THE GROUP GENERALLY AGREED WITH THE EMBASSY'S CAPSULE
ANALYSIS OX THE YUGOSLAV INTERNAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC
SCENE. (IN ONE OR TWO INSTANCES, MEMBERS OF THE GROUP

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FOUND THE ANALYSIS SOMEWHAT SIMPLISTIC, E.G. SENTENCE TWO OF PARAGRAPH 3.) IN REVIEWING THIS ANALYSIS, THE FOLLOWING INTERESTING ISSUES AND QUESTIONS, WHICH MIGHT SERVE AS A GUIDE FOR FUTURE EMBASSY REPORTS WERE RAISED:

A. CAN THE EMBASSY IDENTIFY THE "COMERS" AMONG YOUNGER PARTY AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS? WHAT ARE THE POSSIBILITIES OF BRINGING SOME OF THEM TO THE US UNDER THE IV PROGRAM?

B. HOW INFLUENTIAL AND ABLE DO THE EMBASSY AND CON GEN ADJUDGE SUCH LEADERS AS GRLICKOV AND BILIC TO BE? ARE THEIR ANY OBSERVABLE NUANCES OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THEIR VIEWS AND THOSE OF KARDELJ, DOLANC, BAKARIC ET AL?

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C. IS THE ARMY'S POLITICAL INFLUENCE INCREASING AND, IF SO, IS THIS INFLUENCE HAVING AN IMPACT ON CERTAIN FOR-
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EIGN POLICY ISSUES SUCH AS NPT?

D. YUGOSLAVIA'S LESS-DEVELOPED REGIONS MAY CONSTITUTE ONE OF THE KEYS TO POLITICAL STABILITY IN THE POST-TITO ERA. ASSESSMENTS OF THE POLITICAL-ECONOMIC SITUATION IN EACH OF THESE AREAS, PARTICULARLY KOSOVO, WOULD BE USEFUL. REPORTS MIGHT FOCUS INTER ALIA ON NATIONALITY RELATIONS, BREAD-AND-BUTTER ECONOMIC ISSUES, ATTITUDES TOWARD THE FEDERAL LEADERSHIP, AND THE LEVEL OF SOVIET PRESENCE AND INFLUENCE, ESPECIALLY IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE. (THE DIFFICULTY IN ACQUIRING INFORMATION UPON WHICH TO BASE SUCH ASSESSMENTS IS APPRECIATED.)

E. SEVERAL PARTICIPANTS APPLAUDED THE CONGEN'S COVERAGE OF CROATIAN AND SLOVENIAN AFFAIRS. A CONGEN OVERVIEW OF THE LEADERSHIP SITUATION IN THESE TWO REPUBLIC WOULD BE WELCOME.

F. ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT, INTEREST WASEXPRESSED IN MORE REPORTING ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF STABILIZATION EFFORTS, ESPECIALLY IN THE EYES OF REPUBLIC-LEVEL OFFICIALS, BANKERS AND ENTERPRISE MANAGERS.

G. THERE WAS ALSO CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN CURRENT TRENDS IN YUGOSLAV-SOVIET TRADE AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION. SOME PARTICIPANTS BELIEVED THAT RECENT EVIDENCE SUGGESTED THAT THE SOVIETS MAY WISH TO SEE TRADE WITH YUGOSLAVIA LEVEL OFF AT APPROXIMATELY THE PRESENT VOLUME. OTHERS FELT THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT BE PUSHING FOR MORE ECONOMIC COOPERATION THAN THE YUGOSLAVS WANT.

5. BILATERAL ISSUES/COURSES OF ACTION:

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A. MILITARY RELATIONS - THE GROUP CONCURRED WITH
THE EMBASSY'S ASSERTION THAT THE USG SHOULD PROMOTE CLOSER
CONTACTS WITH THE YUGOSLAV MILITARY BY MEANS OF EXCHANGES
OF VISITS BY MILITARY AND OTHER DEFENSE PERSONNEL,
TRAINING PROGRAMS, AND A WILLINGNESS TO SELL SELECTED
MILITARY ITEMS IN WHICH THE YUGOSLAVS HAVE EXPRESSED IN-
TEREST AND WHICH WE ARE IN A POSITION TO SELL. UNITS OF
THE 6TH FLEET CONTINUE TO CALL REGULARLY AT YUGOSLAV
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PORTS AND JNA OFFICERS WILL AGAIN STUDY AT FT. LEAVENWORTH
IN 1975-76. OFFICERS OF THE YUGOSLAV NAVY AND AIR FORCE
ARE EXPECTED TO STUDY AT THE NAVAL WAR COLLEGE AND THE AIR
COMMAND AND STAFF COLLEGE RESPECTIVELY IN 1976-77.
TRAINING IS ONE AREA IN WHICH MILITARY RELATIONS SHOULD BE
EXPANDED STILL FURTHER.

CLOSER MILITARY COOPERATION WILL NOT BE ACHIEVED EASILY,
HOWEVER. SUCH COOPERATION IS HIGHLY SENSITIVE TO THE
POLITICAL CLIMATE AS THE FREEZE ON MILITARY RELATIONS AS
A RESULT OF YUGOSLAV BEHAVIOR DURING THE YOM KIPPUR WAR
INDICATES. THERE ARE ELEMENTS IN BOTH THE US AND YUGO-
SLAV MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS WARY OF ESTABLISHING CLOSER
MILITARY RELATIONS. FEAR OF POSSIBLE TRANSFER TO THE EAST
OF US MILITARY ITEMS SOLD TO YUGOSLAVIA AND APPREHENSION
THAT SOME OF THESE ITEMS MIGHT ONE DAY BE USED AGAINST
US OR ALLIED FORCES LEAD SOME ELEMENTS IN THE USG TO BE
RELUCTANT TO MAKE EXCEPTIONS TO THE NATIONAL DISCLOSURE
POLICY TO PERMIT THE SALE OF SELECTED CLASSIFIED ITEMS
IN WHICH THE YUGOSLAVS HAVE EXLRESSED INTEREST. MOREOVER,
THE RUSH-CLEMENTS JOINT POLICY STATEMENT OF JUNE 1973
RULES OUT CO-PRODUCTION FOR JOINT SALES OF MILITARY ITEMS
TO THIRD COUNTRIES.
B. HIGH-LEVEL VISITS - THE GROUP AGREED THAT WE
SHOULD FOLLOW THROUGH ON INVITATIONS TO YUGOSLAVS WHO ARE
LIKELY TO BE KEY FIGURES IN THE POST-TITO GOVERNMENT.
ONCE PRESIDENT FORD VISITS YUGOSLAVIA, WE WILL ATTEMPT TO
ESTABLISH A SCHEDULE FOR VISITS BY KARDELJ ET AL.

C. ECONOMIC RELATIONS:

WE SHOULD:

- CONTINUE A STRONG TRADE PROMOTION EFFORT INCLUDING
SUPPORT OF TRADE FAIR PARTICIPATION, TRADE MISSIONS AND
SPECIALIZED TRADE MISSION-TECHNICAL SALES SEMINARS.

- MAINTAIN AN ACTIVE EXIMBANK INVOLVEMENT IN YUGO-
SLAVIA THROUGH MODERATE GROWTH IN EXIMBANK LENDING AND
GUARANTEES FOR SUITABLE PROJECTS;

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- MAINTAIN OPIC SUPPORT FOR UE BUSINESS INVESTMENT IN YUGOSLAVIA, INCLUDING CONSIDERATION OF FINANCING AND PARTICIPATION IN JOINT VENTURES IN THIRD COUNTRIES;

- CONTINUE TO SUPPORT A REASONABLE LEVEL OF ASSISTANCE TO YUGOSLAVIA BY INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS INCLUDING IBRD AND IMF;

- ENCOURAGE YUGOSLAVIA'S PRINCIPAL TRADING PARTNERS IN THE EEC TO MAKE SPECIAL EFFORTS TO ACCOMODATE YUGOSLAV TRADE AND FINANCING NEEDS WHEN FORMULATING ECONOMIC POLICY TOWARD YUGOSLAVIA;

- CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE THE GOY TO AMEND THE JOINT VENTURE LAW TO PERMIT MORE FLEXIBLE ARRANGEMENTS

INCLUDING REPATRIATION OF PROFITS.

- ENCOURAGE, BY MEANS OF ADVANCE CONSULTATION AND APPEALS TO YUGOSLAVIA'S INTEREST IN CONTINUING CLOSE ECONOMIC TIES WITH THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, MODERATE YUGOSLAVIA BEHAVIOR IN GROUP OF 77 CONSIDERATION OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ISSUES.

D. EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES:

THE GROUP AGREED THAT THE EXPANSION OX THE SOCIAL SCIENCES SECTOR OF ACADEMIC EXCHANGES IS, IN PRINCIPLE, DESIRABLE. WHILE INCREASED EMPHASIS ON YUGOSLAVS STUDYING THE SOCIAL V SCIENCES HERE WAS DEEMED FEASIBLE, SEVERAL MEMBERS EXPRESSED DOUBTS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF SIMILAR EXPANSION IN THE OTHER DIRECTION GIVEN: (1) THE GOY'S POOR RECORD IN PLACING PRESENT US SCHOLARS WORKING IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES; AND (2) GOY RESTRICTIONS ON THE TYPES OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH AND THE METHODS WHICH CAN BE EMPLOYED IN YUGOSLAVIA. THE EMBASSY'S RECOMMENDATION THAT THERE BE MORE CULTURAL PRESENTATIONS SHOULD BE MADE MORE SPECIFIC. THE US SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN WELL REPRESENTED AT THE VARIOUS YUGOSLAV FESTIVALS. WHAT SPECIFIC ADDITIONAL TYPES OF GROUPS ARE NEEDED AND WHAT ARE THE ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF THE ADDITIONAL FUNDING REQUIRED? HE GROUP ENDORSED THE EMBASSY'S EMPHASIS ON THE IV PROGRAM, PAR-

TICULARLY FOR YOUNGER POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL LEADERS.

E. SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION

THE IMPORTANCE AND ACCOMPLISHMENT TO DATE OF US-YUGOSLAV

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SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION IS RECOGNIZED AS A VERY SIGNIFICANT ELEMENT IN OUR OVERALL BILATERAL RELATIONS; EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO MAINTAIN THESE S&T RELATIONS. NEVERTHELESS, AS THE EMBASSY KNOWS, NEARLY ALL THE REMAINING PL-480 DINARS AVAILABLE TO SUPPORT JOINT RESEARCH HAVE BEEN OBLIGATED AND THE CHANCES OF OBTAINING SUBSTANTIAL SOURCES OF DOLLAR FUNDING ARE MEAGER. THE GROUP CONCLUDED THAT WE SHOULD: (1) CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE APPROPRIATE US AGENCIES AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS TO PROMOTE COOPERATIVE PROJECTS IN YUGOSLAVIA; AND (2) MOTIVATE AND ASSIST YUGOSLAV SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS TO SEEK ACTIVELY ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF US FUNDING TO SUPPORT JOINT RESEARCH PROJECTS. IT SHOULD BE MADE CLEAR TO THE YUGOSLAVS THAT, EVEN IF THESE EXFORTS SUCCEED, SUCH NEW FUNDING WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE A SMALL FRACTION OF CURRENT US SPENDING.

F. EXHIBITS AND OTHER MULTI-AGENCY EFFORTS

SEVERAL MEMBERS OF THE GROUP CALLED FOR MORE INTENSIVE AND CAREFUL COORDINATION AND PREPARATION IN WAFHINGTON AND IN THE EMBASSY OF EXHIBITS (E.G. THE NOVI SAD FAIR) AND OTHER PROGRAMS WHICH ACHIEVE MULTIPLE AND MUTUALLY REINFORCING USG OBJECTIVES. KISSINGER

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